1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rlf MX3

623 692 685 *Picking windfall olives.* Similarly, the head of each family must pay a quarter of a dollar for each member of his family who starts picking up windfalls before the signal is given.

Theft of olives. The outright theft of olives is punished by a fine of ten dollars.

Trespassing in order to pick grass. If a man catches a woman picking or cutting grass for her cow on his land, he may report her, and her husband will be fined one dollar. But to make such a report is considered mean and few are willing to do so.

Stray goats and cattle in the cemetery. When goats or cattle, either with or without the intention of their guardian, enter a cemetery, their owner is fined a quarter of a dollar for each goat, and a dollar for each bull or cow which entered.

[689] *Repair of irrigation ditches.* If any farmer fails to send a man or men to work on a ditch, when he is required to do so, he is fined between two and three dollars per day per man.

Taking water illegally from irrigation ditches. This is considered a serious offense, and although it incurs but a five dollar fine, it always breeds bad feelings and often incites to murder.

[782] 623 692 688 *Regulating attendance at prayer.* To explain this function it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of religion. Each *bone* in the *canton* is required to send twenty-five men once a week to the common mosque of the *canton* to pray. The village council of each *bone* lists the names of all married men in the *bone*: a day is set for each *bone* to attend the mosque, and the *bone* keeps that day permanently. The first week the first twenty-five men on the list must go, the second week the second twenty-five, and so on until the list has been exhausted, when the procedure starts all over again. If the number of married men in the *bone* is not evenly divisible by twenty-five, those forming the remainder at the foot of the list are supplemented by enough at the head of it to fill the number, and the rotation starts anew. It is the task of the village council in whose territory the cantonal mosque is situated to see that twenty-five men appear from each *bone* on the allotted day. If a *bone* is so small that it does not contain twenty-five, it is combined with another *bone* for this purpose.

If the members of the village council of the mosque territory find that a quota is not full on a certain day, they fine the man who has defaulted five dollars. If this is not paid promptly the council of the great steps in and fines the guilty *bone* between two and three hundred dollars. If a man is away on a journey his name is temporarily stricken from the list and the following names are moved up one place; if he is ill or for some other reason unable to go, he is allowed to send a substitute. If a man falls ill on the way, becomes wounded, or is otherwise prevented from reaching the mosque when it is too late to obtain a substitute, his absence is excused.

The fines thus extracted, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the mosque, formerly consisted of walnuts, almonds, figs, or raisins. Later, when sugar was first imported, two sugar cones were assessed. Later still the money fine was introduced.

623 681 651 692 *Providing for exiles from other fifths.* When a man has been exiled by the tribal council for a year, two years, or more, he must pass to a different *fifth*, preferably to a *bone* in which he has friends. The village council of the *bone* collects an assessed portion of the crops of every farmer and gives it to him. This it does for the first year only. If he remains more than a year he must work as a share-laborer for a farmer and earn his living. If a farmer refuses to give his assessed portion it is taken by force, and twofold. Such refusals are, however, almost unknown.

1: Coon E-5 · (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Entertaining councillors of another tribe. If the councillors of a strange tribe stop at a village for the night, the local village council has charge of their entertainment. They first provide a house for the guests by expelling some childless man and his wife from their dwelling for the night. They then collect foodstuffs. Bread and all fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, and vegetables, are assessed from rich men without payment. Meat, sugar, tea, candles, oil, pepper, butter, and poultry are purchased from members of the *bone* willing to sell them. The boys of the council buy the poultry from widows, and eggs as well, if no one brings them voluntarily. Anyone refusing to supply the bread assessed him may be fined ten *soldi* a loaf; but since no one has ever been known to refuse, the fine is purely theoretical. If in buying those articles not given, the members of the council spend more money than they have in the fine treasury, they pay the excess amount themselves, later collecting it in equal portions from all the men of the *bone* who have been married one year or over. They themselves act as cooks for the visiting councillors.

Entering council chamber unbidden. If any member of the *bone* enters the council chamber while the council is deliberating, the intruder is told to remain and is given tea. When at length he departs, a member of the council is immediately sent out to call him back. This time he is reprimanded for having entered unbidden, and is fined between two and three dollars.

Conversing with women. If a man or boy speaks to a married woman belonging to a *bone* other than his own, on the path or in any other public place, except the market, the village council of the village to which the woman belongs summons the offender and fines him five dollars. If the offender repeatedly seeks out the woman, or loiters about places she is known to frequent in order to converse with her, the village council of the offender's own *bone* fines him between fifty and sixty dollars. If the offense takes place in market it is considered more serious, and comes before the council of the great.[1] These rules do not apply to unmarried women, who may be spoken to, in a respectful manner, by anyone.

Quarrels between women. When one woman injures another with a stone, stick, or other implement, the village council collects a fine of from five to six dollars from the husband of the aggressor. The council generally hears of such cases through gossip, since the husband of the injured woman is usually too ashamed to report it.

Entering a cemetery occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a cemetery when the women of the *bone* are convening there on a Friday or holiday, he is fined five dollars.

Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a saint's tomb in which women are convening, the village council fines him from fifty to a hundred dollars.

Fighting with the hands. If two men fight with their hands, without using any weapon, the village council determines which man started the fight and fines him an amount commensurate with the injury done.

Speaking to an enemy. If a man is caught conversing with a member of a hostile *bone*, at a time when war is either in progress or imminent, the village council of his own *bone* fines him fifty dollars.

In the tribes and territories where there is no village council, the rendering of justice in small affairs which is the work of this body is not performed. For example, one man may cut down another's tree or take his grass without any fine or other official reckoning; he can likewise speak to a woman of another *bone*; but if he does these things he incurs the wrath

[1] See below, p. 102.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

627 of the men affected, and may thus start a feud which will end in killings, after which it becomes the concern of the councillors to render justice.

In regions where the Arab form of government has supplanted the indigenous type, such affairs are decided by the sheikh.

DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT

623 This council, which is the governing body of the *canton*, does not convene as often as the village council, but comes together only in market and when some occasion demands it, its moderator then sending for the members. In *cantons* which have no markets, the council of the great has no regular meetings.

Supporting the village council. If anyone who has been fined by the village council refuses to pay it, that body sends a messenger to the moderator of the council of the great. The moderator sends for the members, who come armed to a place previously agreed upon and proceed in a body to the house of the offender. There they assess upon a him fine several times that originally imposed, amounting usually to between fifty and two hundred dollars, depending on the offense.

623 692 [685] *Theft of livestock.* A man who has stolen sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules, or horses is summoned before the councillors and fined between a hundred and two hundred dollars, besides being forced to restore to his victim the animals stolen, in cash or in kind. The theft of camels does not incur jurisdiction because of the lawless condition of the nomads who own them. Such a theft simply results in a fight.

[683] *Fighting with sticks.* The councillors decide which of the parties is at fault and fine him fifty dollars. If the *bone* of the injured man is a strong one, the councillors force the culprit to bring a goat, bread, tea, and sugar and go with them to the house of the injured man to present him with a feast. Such a feast, provided by visitors to the house, is a strong act of compulsive magic and cannot be disregarded. The recipient of such a favor must grant any request made and cease enmity against the giver. If the *bone* of the injured man is weak, no precaution of this nature is necessary.

[683] *Shooting at a man but missing him.* He who shoots at another without hitting him must pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the councillors.

[689] *Speaking to women in market.* This offense is considered greater than that of speaking to women in any other place. It is settled by the councillors of the *canton* in whose territory the market is held, and is punished by a hundred dollar fine.

Entering a women's market. For a man to enter a market which is restricted to women is an offense as serious as that of speaking to a woman in a common market, if not more so. It is punished by a fine of a hundred dollars, paid to the councillors.

623 692 684 *Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act.* If a husband hears that his wife has been unfaithful, but did not actually witness such an event, he is not allowed to kill the suspected man without incurring the penalty for ordinary murder. He has the privilege of bringing the matter before the councillors, who fine the suspect, if they are reasonably sure of his guilt, between a hundred and two hundred dollars. They forcibly divorce the woman from her husband, and forbid her to remarry him or any other man. Women so divorced return to their parents to live. Such a woman often becomes a prostitute, plying her trade with the greatest secrecy possible. If she is caught doing this, the

784 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a per-
272 son receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be
296 squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the
262 prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-
432 speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by sell-
689 ing bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

778 [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but
784 also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the
[783] fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is
821 shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

262 "In the name of God, God is most great". This may be said before
[264] the breaking of the first egg only (Andjra), or before the breaking of each egg (Ait [363] Waryager).

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz unmarried men and girls refrain from eating the nose of any animal, lest they should have rain at their wedding. Among the same tribe scribes and boys who are studying the Koran must not eat an animal's throat, because the eating of it would make their voices hoarse. Among the Ait Waryager the same part is for a similar reason not given to children to eat. They also prohibit their women from eating the testicles of any male animal, which are eaten by the men; and they believe that if a child ate the kidney of an animal it would come out as lumps on the face and body of the child.

[364] A man who has killed an edible wild animal or bird eats its head in order to be successful in hunting (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he eats, for the same reason, both the head and the heart, though he may share them with his wife and children.

224 [365] Various customs relating to hunting, target-practice, and
689 guns have been mentioned in earlier chapters, but others may be added.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz in Dukkala, if one of the hunters misbehaves, the others draw round him a circle, a so-called gart r-rma, and he has to remain inside it until he pays a fine (haqq or d'aira), after which the hunters surround him and make fatha. An offence which makes a hunter subject to this treatment on the evening after the hunt is the shooting or killing of a hare which is asleep, in which case he will have to give a feast to his companions; for both in Dukkala and elsewhere (Ait Waryager) a hunter must not kill a sleeping hare because it deprives his companions and the grayhounds of the pleasure of hunting it.

[369] Among the Ait Waryager, if one of the rrma has misbehaved, the others punish him when they are shooting at targets by filling the hood of his cloak with stones and compelling him to sit at a distance from them; and they do not remove the stones and admit him to their company until he has repeated the prayer for the Prophet a certain number of times, fifty or a hundred or more, according to their discretion.

844 [370] When a woman is going to give birth to a child, or if her delivery proves difficult, certain practices are often resorted to in order to facilitate it.

556 (423) (425)

under the Spanish, remained more or less a part of his tribe. His son continued to accumulate wealth but exclusively in terms of land, especially from Spaniards leaving the country. He maintained daily contact with his tribe, attended weddings of the more important people within the Beni Wariyaghar although he lived in the city of Alhucemas, had close and intense connections with the countryside. This man's own son, an officer in the army, was visiting Alhucemas and was accused by the police chief of drinking in a public place. The police chief, a recent transfer from the southern zone, was unaware of the prominence of the boy and had him arrested. As soon as his father heard of this he obtained the immediate release of his son through the Ministry of Interior and the suspension of the police chief.

(689) (625)

These two examples are illustrative of the fact that wealth itself is not correlated with prestige or power. One might even suggest that analytically there are two sorts of wealth, each based on a different sort of operation in terms of accumulation and distribution. One sort of wealth, that which derives from the land, is a part of a greater complex in which social factors motivate economic action. The other sort of wealth generally operates free of these social factors and is motivated by the profit incentive.

685 3) theft, with corresponding fines, and even one of the thief's kinsmen putting out his eyes[61].

673 671 If there are certain crimes, known to all and carrying with them sanctions also known to all, which do not (translator's italics) appear in the qanuns (such as bestiality[52], etc.), they are kept out purposely because of the shame, the hashuma, of those who formulate the decrees. In other instances (such as certain misdemeanors having to do with agriculture and fields), they are kept out because their inclusion is difficult and they are also sufficiently well known to and by all concerned so that they do not need to be put in. In still other cases, they are kept out because they are questions of custom which require consultation with men of laws or arbiters. Finally, these are all misdemeanors the nature of which, in one way or another, is inadequate to be put before the public in special announcements by market criers.

I) Miscellaneous Data on Fines for Lesser Offenses:

1) Among the Ibuqquyen:

224 a) Hunting[63]: Saturday is the day for hunting (rayāh or [689] thingimarth)[64]. Whoever does not attend pays a 5-peseta fine[65], and altercations during hunting are punished by a fine or by giving a meal to the other hunters. Animals killed do not belong to the man who kills [685] them but to the man who finds them[66]. Damages to cultivated lands are paid for by those who caused them. If it is not known who was responsible, the fine is divided up among all the hunters[67]. Any birds or eggs which are found by one of the hunters during the hunt are divided up [425] amongst them all. Any other objects found which are obviously lost articles of a third party are returned to their owners.

A, [This should read "62" not "52"--Analyst]

628 721 they send out a couple of individuals to care for their relatives (in their absence) and tell them what has happened, and by day, they have to feed them, after which, once this is done, they start the march toward the enemy group in order to deliver the coup de main either at once or through careful skirmishing.

There is no top command, for, as the objective is clear, it is not needed. All that must be done is to write finis to the enemy. Individual desertion is shameful, booty is eagerly anticipated, and members of the war-party do not worry about the fact that there are neither rearguard services nor defense.

B) Harkas and their Formation (fragmentary):

[701] [626] [689] The obligation to serve in a harka or war-party was general and accepted by all, and avoidance of harka duty was an object of censure and sanction. Any and all groups which were threatened (both internally and externally) provided variable contingents which were activated periodically. Until protectorate times, punitive expeditions organized by the Moroccan Sultans to chastise recalcitrant tribesmen were augmented by auxiliary harkas made up from the tribes through [648] whose territory the expeditions passed. A good example was the foray undertaken by Bushta al-Baghdadi, one of the fin de siècle commanders of the Moroccan army, against the pirates of the Ibuqquyen in 1898[4]. 701 More recently, 'Abd al-Krim solicited harkas for individual engagements; he maintained a reduced contingent, which was periodically increased, under arms. The system was one of partial mobilization with relief contingents, the number and amount of which were fixed by 'Abd al-Krim. Their recruitment and provisions were handled by their

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present
805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take
687 683 justice into his own hands (literally, "ransacking to collect a debt") shall pay 50 duros, and the same for whoever should attack another on
689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of
681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made
443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul)
693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

682 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone,
443 and should kill him shall be fined 500 duros[69], and if, in attacking
he should miss him (i.e. if the bullet should fail to reach its mark),
685 he shall pay 200 duros. Whoever should take justice into his own hands
443 on the path to the market shall be fined 50 duros and shall return what-
ever object he made off with. Of those who should incite riots with
689 shouts and gunshots, as (happened) to the people of Tafrast, Ait Musa
w 'Amar (both in the clan of the Aith 'Ari) and to the people of Ajdir
(in the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), each one shall pay with his
689 death (literally, "with his neck"), that is, he must be shot. Whoever
443 should be discovered in the Monday Women's Market (Suq ath-Thnain n
562 Timgharin, at Azghar) shall be forced to pay 10 duros.

671 This is what has been decided (for fulfillment) of justice in
443 the above-mentioned market. May God, for the common good, put into
agreement His ideas and the criteria of His lords (of the market).
689 Punishment shall seek out anyone who should wish to provoke riots--
may God in His power make him meet his end.

000 The abovementioned shuyukh have worked with good intent, with
the idea of being useful. May God cause the miracles of the saints
to be manifested, and of the saint of the tomb situated in front of the
market (i.e. that of Sidi Bu 'Afif).

Each of the abovementioned shuyukh designated among his brothers
(i.e. among the men in his jurisdiction) those faithful to him (i.e.
those who constituted his escort and supported his decisions), as for
example: the Shaikh Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar designated among them
the Murabit bin Muhammad bin 'Abdallah Bu 'Azza; the Murabit Hammu bin
al-Hajj Muhammad w al-Qadi; 'Umar bin al-Hajj Tuhami Adardush; Muhammad

312 The
562 jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions
[623] of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of
[681] women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

312 The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly
695 among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agree-
[212] ments are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

[466] The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work
[333] done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

312 Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone
689 of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2)
241 differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled
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[24]
[34]
[62]

amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

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The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

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[805]

Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

000 and he acquires a false idea of the environment in which he finds himself.

B) Days and Sites:

224 619 689 For this reason, all the tribes had fixed days for hunting during the week; it was obligatory for all able-bodied men, and those who eluded such an obligation were penalized.[182]

224 This obligation, like all those which this society imposed upon its members, was not capricious, but served a utilitarian end and responded to a basic need. When the number of the line of beaters was greater, so were the probabilities of yield in the hunt, insuring with good practical sense the flushing of a greater amount of game, the consumption of which was the hunt's object most of the time. In most cases, as today, the meat was to be eaten in common, and never sold; for the Rifian, outside of the times of prohibition, the hunt must be free of all bonds and impositions, for today (1939), it if were not for the understandable tolerance of the Spanish tribal administration, the law would become a privilege for the European hunter, reserving for him a distraction or gain at the cost of the need of the tribesmen.

[796] Even today, the Rifians still continue to hunt on fixed days, ordinarily on Saturdays, but never on Fridays (day of rest) nor on market days; even so hunting is not obligatory in most villages. In the clan of the Izimmuren, in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen, people hunt on Saturdays or Mondays; in the Aith 'Ammarth, on Wednesdays, Saturdays or Sundays; in the Aith Hadhifa clan (Aith Waryaghar), on Thursdays or Saturdays; etc.

224 671 aid was rendered with firearms, to pay a cartridge, and if rendered with a ferret, to surrender half of the animal taken, for the maintenance of ferrets, based on milk, eggs and bread with olive oil, is costly. The same holds true if he is lent a net; he must pay half of the animals he catches (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 689 Anyone who, if help is required of him, denies it and deliberately frightens the game away with shouts and gestures, in order to hunt it later on his own, is obliged to pay a fine of 25 pesetas for his selfishness.[192]

671 224 I) Snow:

The tracks of animals (largely hares and rabbits) and the footprints of hunters give rise to the following cases:

1) The animals are for whoever discovers them and follows their tracks from the point where these begin or further; this is thus a recognition of the greatest effort (Aith 'Ammarth).

2) This right may be yielded by the pursuer, for reasons of weariness, etc., to anyone whom he meets on the way; and in case he abandons the search, he loses his rights (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 423 3) After the den of an animal is discovered, the hunter makes a circle in the snow around it. This circle is a sign of priority rights to the animal within it, and it permits the hunter to follow new tracks even though he may not kill the animal within the burrow.

671 224 423 627 In case another man takes the animal from its den, the claim is examined in front of the mulu' by the first hunter taking oath to having made the circle in order to locate the animal first.

[681] If through lack of other proof and if afterward it comes to

224 619 689 114 182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

224 67 [114] [178] We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

224 628 613 614 186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.

A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]